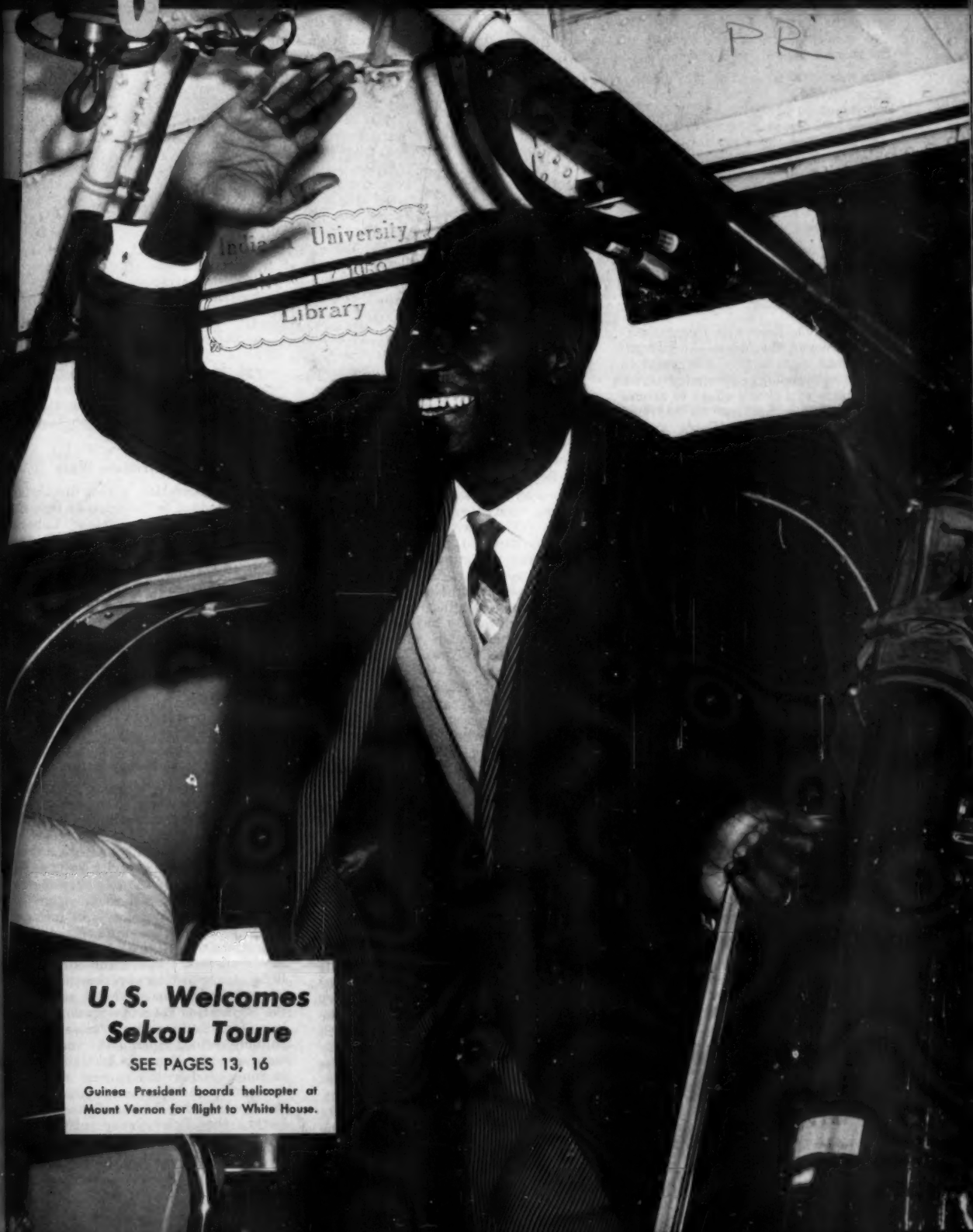


Africa

October, 1959
Volume 4, Number 10

SPECIAL REPORT



U. S. Welcomes Sekou Toure

SEE PAGES 13, 16

Guinea President boards helicopter at
Mount Vernon for flight to White House.

Tory Victory: The Implications for Africa

By HELEN KITCHEN

BRTAIN's new Colonial Secretary, Iain Macleod, faces three major crises in his African constituency—two inherited from his predecessor, the third a product of the election.

In multi-racial Kenya, an increasingly confident African nationalist movement is pressing insistently for larger and larger concessions and for a definite commitment that London's ultimate intent is democracy and independence—or else.

In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, African unrest remains circumscribed by tight police measures, and British-African relations continue to circle inconclusively the *cul de sac* created by the government's defensive, unconstructive response to the Devlin Report.

Throughout East and Central Africa, moreover, the Macmillan government must cope with a new twist in African psychology stemming from the failure of Labor's effort to arouse British public opinion on African issues. Kenya's Tom Mboya articulated this new, more militant mood when he commented that the election had proved the British voter's complete disinterest in African issues and had made it clear that Africans must fight their own battles.

The Salisbury *Evening Standard*, commenting on this new mood, observes that the most pressing task of the new Macmillan government in Africa is to demonstrate to Africans that their disappointment over Labor's defeat is groundless. The first of a

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at 1234 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Cable: **AFRAM, WASHINGTON**

Editorial Staff:

Robert C. Keith, Chief

Margaret O'Neill, Circulation

Africa Special Report welcomes but cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

© 1959, African-American Institute.

Articles in *Africa Special Report* do not necessarily reflect the views of the African-American Institute.

Second Class postage paid at Washington, D. C. **SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:** Surface mail: U. S. \$1.00; Foreign 8/. Air Rates: U. S. \$3.00; Foreign \$4.90.

Statement required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of *Africa Special Report* published monthly at Washington, D. C., for October 1959.

1) The publisher is the African-American Institute, 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.; the editor is Robert C. Keith, 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

2) The owner is the African-American Institute, Inc. (non-profit organization), 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod

Iain Macleod, who replaces Alan Lennox-Boyd as Colonial Secretary in the new Macmillan Cabinet, is described by the London *Economist* as "the most liberal and dynamic of the available Conservatives" and "the man who some Tories think is the best next Prime Minister they're got."



MACLEOD

The 55-year old Colonial Secretary was Labor Minister from December 1955 until this month; before that he served for three years as Britain's Minister of Health, administering cheerfully the socialized medicine system inherited from the previous Labor regime. He is a Scottish Highlander by descent, but was born, a physician's son, in Yorkshire. In 1939, after attending Cambridge and studying for the bar, he enlisted in the army as a private, later was commissioned and wounded in France. As a major in the 50th (Northumbrian) Division, he landed in Normandy on D-Day. He is married to the daughter of a clergyman, and is the father of two teen-agers.

series of moves designed to remake the unfavorable image of the Conservative Party forged by Labor attacks and Tory flaccidity on African issues in the campaign was the replacement of controversial Alan Lennox-Boyd as Secretary for Colonial Affairs by Macleod, one of the most dynamic and liberal of the younger Tories. (This switch at the Colonial Office is directed almost exclusively at African opinion in troubled East and Central Africa, for Lennox-Boyd's stock remains high in Ghana, where he skillfully engineered the last-minute compromise between warring factions which made possible independence in 1957, and in Nigeria, where he has won wide admiration for his role in preparing the nation for independence next year.)

Kenya Highlands Opened

Similarly, the mid-October announcement that Kenya's sacrosanct White Highlands would be opened up to Africans on a selective basis was timed to give dramatic proof that the Macmillan government's Kenya policies are responsive to the times and not dictated, as Labor charged, by the settler community. In the same vein, there are responsible hints in the press that the Kenya Government also intends to lift the state of emergency, which still restricts the movements of several tribes, before the scheduled round-table constitutional conference in January. Meanwhile, the Tory Government moves ever closer to the time when it must come to grips with a question neither major British party has yet fully answered—whether the ultimate goal in Kenya is independence and a fully democratic franchise, and what happens to the colony's 60,000 European settlers if this is the intention. As the London *Times* put it recently: "Basically, the trouble is that

Kenya has for years been trying to work transitional constitutions without any agreement about the destination to be reached. This is an unworkable proposition."

Rhodesian Africans Wary

In the Federation, a new dimension has been added to the crisis in British-African relations because of Labor's call for "one man, one vote," and the Socialists' promise of early release of political detainees held without trial, rapid broadening of the franchise in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and postponement of the projected 1960 constitutional conference until the governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia adequately represent African opinion. Against this backdrop, any more modest concessions introduced by Mr. Macleod—and they are inevitably destined to be more modest than these—are bound to be objected to as half a loaf.

The Conservative Party's election manifesto on Africa, by contrast, makes pretty thin reading for Africans in a hurry. It states that in "multi-racial countries" such as Central Africa, the aim is "to build communities that protect minority rights and are free of all discrimination on grounds of race or color." Aside from a reference to the need for better educational facilities to "underpin the franchise," the manifesto gives little idea what the government might be prepared to undertake to extricate the Federation from its present highly-policed state and on toward this vaguely-defined goal. A somewhat more specific Central African policy is enunciated in the current issue of *Crossbow*, the quarterly journal of the liberal wing of the Conservative Party, the Bow Group of Young Conservatives:

(Continued on page 12)

in
the
va-
the

por
be-
n's
the
ous
by
re.
for
ter
a
he
a

ng to
with-
stina-
work-

ension
ritish-
labor's
nd the
ase of
trial,
ise in
Nyasa-
e pro-
ference
saland
uately
gainst
t con-
leod—
d to be
und to

lection
ntrast,
Afri-
hat in
s Cen-
d com-
rights
ion on
e from
better
derpin
gives
might
tricate
t high-
d this
newhat
policy
issue of
nal of
rvative
Young



Political rally in Arusha, Tanganyika, at foot of Mt. Meru. The author terms Tanganyika's constitutional advance "the most striking success" in multi-racial Africa.

Danger Signs in Africa

By GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

DESPITE the political differences in Africa, and the varied institutions which metropolitan countries have bestowed on their own territories, there is a remarkable similarity in the aspirations of Africans throughout the continent south of the Sahara. They call their objective "Democracy" and there is no doubt about the roots from which it springs. What makes the response of citizens of mature Western communities sometimes hesitant, however, is that the similarities in words and objectives between the African concept of democracy and our own are not always reflected in practice.

When we speak of democracy we may use Lincoln's words "of the people, by the people, for the people" but we think in practice of a limited government which is responsible to the people. Our concept of democracy centers around restraints, controls and balance.

In contrast, to Africans almost everywhere democracy means three things, and three things only: universal franchise; majority rule; and

community solidarity. Let us analyze these both in their terms and in our own because misunderstandings on both sides are arising from the differences between them.

Universal Franchise

The African concentration on universal franchise and the vast expectations from it lie not only in the natural desire for control within their own communities but also in the experiences which they have had. Both British Colonial systems and the structure established in the Union of South Africa have used a restrictive franchise and domination of the legislature and executive by officials or a local white minority as the chief means of maintaining non-African control. As more Africans became eligible for the common roll suffrage in Southern Rhodesia, for example, economic qualifications were raised. Recently Michael Blundell declared that a common roll for Kenya was quite feasible—but with university entrance qualifications for Africans. South Africa, like Kenya to date, has used the

"In the new African states, feelings are all too quickly translated into edicts; in South Africa, they become bottled up to the point of explosion." Here, an eminent student of African racial politics examines current trends and underlines the pressing need to seek out a "middle way."

technique of a separate roll for Africans and has added the finesse of having them represented in Parliament, in as far as they were, by Europeans. In the last session of the Union Parliament, Africans lost even the three European representatives in the House of Assembly who were provided for them when they were removed from the common roll in Cape Province in 1936.

It is thus natural that Africans, whose numbers are their strongest claim to power, elevate universal franchise to first place in their political programs. In practice, universal franchise and effective party organization are the best means of achieving a dominant position within their society and rapid independence. But once independence is won, universal fran-

chise is no guarantee that the people will be able to exercise restraints over its governing group. This is demonstrated in states like the Ivory Coast, where Houphouët-Boigny's RDA has 60 seats out of 60 seats, or Guinea where Sekou Toure's Guinea Democratic Party has a similar monopoly of political power.

Majority Rule

A Colonial administration constantly uses its official majority to ensure its policies, and it is easy to see why Africans place such stress on majority rule for themselves. Yet, however good its intentions, the colonial governmental majority inevitably appears merely a technique of control, frustrating in its lack of responsiveness to local demands. Two unfortunate by-products are the precedent this system can provide for an unresponsive governmental majority once elected members secure control, and its lack of training for the subtle yet crucial role of the opposition. In place of the give and take of a well-working parliamentary or congressional system, the elected members, particularly the African elected members, often feel pitted against the officials, with too little influence to transmit a sense of being an essential element within a working representative system. Even after an interim period of responsible rule by elected members, there is danger when independence comes that opposition members will tend, as they have in Ghana, to attack every action of the government, whether party-oriented or genuinely in the public interest, much in the same way as elected members attacked the policies of the official majority in earlier stages of constitutional development. The elected government majority, in its turn, tends to be impatient of criticism as officialdom has so often been before it and, equally, to be convinced of its own good intentions and ability to know what is best for the country.

Community Solidarity

In the British colonial areas, where tribalism has had more importance than in the French, Belgian or Portuguese territories, what Sir Andrew Cohen calls "policy by pressure" has made progress towards independence dependent on the existence of a substantial and unified political organization and an outstanding leader. Except in Nigeria, each of whose three areas is more populous than most other African states, divisions between African parties and tribes have been looked on as a handicap to political advance. This is understandable since colonial powers seek to hand over authority to viable units with effective governments and leadership. Nonetheless one of the by-products of requiring nation-wide political organization under an outstanding figure before granting independence is to

place a premium on a monolithic party structure and, incidentally, to equate opposition to that structure with treason to the progress of independence, an attitude all too easy to carry over into the era of independence itself.

Need for Restraints

What do these comments suggest? That the headlong progress towards independence in Africa is taking place under the heady inspiration of oversimplified democratic slogans, and under conditions which do not provide enough experience of the essentials either of responsible governing or of responsible opposition, despite the good intentions of most of the colonial powers. They suggest also that it is the more unfortunate that the British and French have endowed almost all

The Author

Miss Gwendolen Carter, chairman of the Department of Government at Smith College, has just returned from her most recent tour of "multi-racial" Africa. This article is condensed from a keynote address delivered before the African Studies Association in September in her capacity as retiring president of the Association. The full text is scheduled to appear in the next issue of the African Studies Bulletin. Prof. Carter is author of "The Politics of Inequality," a major political survey of the Union of South Africa, now in its second printing.

their territories in Africa with political systems which depend on self-imposed restraints rather than built-in ones.

One need look no further than South Africa to see the problems which have arisen from lack of federal divisions, of a Bill of Rights, and of judicial controls. It is true that only men and attitudes can insure constitutionalism, and no one who looks at Latin America can claim that a political system of checks and balances can of itself provide government which is responsible and restrained, but it can help. Even in South Africa, it took the Nationalist Government six years to override the entrenched clause safeguarding the voting rights of the Coloured in Cape Province and in that time a good many people, both English- and Afrikaans-speaking, were awakened to the significance of constitutionalism. Might it not have made a considerable difference in Ghana if Parliament had not had the power, through an Act passed in a single afternoon, to override a Court Order of censure on the Minister of the Interior for forcing unnecessary deportations?

Nigeria is incorporating a Bill of Rights in its constitution, partly because the lack of one in Ghana has had unhappy results, and the Nigerian judiciary may well have sufficient

prestige to restrain possible governmental arbitrariness through guarantees which stand above ordinary law. There is still time to insist that such guarantees be inserted in subsequent constitutions granted to Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland, and, hopefully, in the constitution under which the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is ultimately granted full Commonwealth status.

Multi-Racial States

It is in these latter countries, particularly those which we call multi-racial, that the challenges to constitutionalism are most pressing. In much of Africa, as in most of the rest of the world, the divisions within countries are traditional, or linguistic, or religious, or economic. Only in one section, extending from Kenya through South Africa, do we find the plural or "multi-racial" states. This term is not used for all territories where two races live side by side—it is not used for Uganda with its 50,000 Asians, or for Zanzibar with its sizeable and still dominant Arab minority—but only for those where European, or white settlers live side by side with the indigenous Africans. No place else are the strains on tolerance and political restraint quite so great as in these multi-racial states of Africa.

Success in Tanganyika

The most striking success at the moment is in Tanganyika. That country's first elections, held in two parts last autumn and spring, have brought into the Legislative Council thirty elected members, ten African, ten Asian and ten European. All the elected members know that they owe their seats to the votes organized by TANU, the Tanganyika African National Union, the only effective political group in the country. But it is not only this fact but even more the skillful leadership of Julius Nyerere, the sense of common purpose he has induced in the elected members and their own good sense that has welded this group of thirty into a team which works so well together that British administrators speak of them as monolithic.

Next year, probably after elections anticipated for October 1960, it is hoped that multi-racial political organization will be extended in Tanganyika both up and down: to provide a majority of elected Ministers in the Council of Ministers, and downwards to introduce multi-racial membership into TANU. Already there are vocal Africanists within TANU's ranks who oppose broadening its membership but Nyerere is powerful enough to carry his party with him. One of the most promising signs in this regard is the way in which African audiences accept Mr. Bryceson, his European deputy, as "their" Minister.

Can the same spirit be produced in

(Continued on page 14)

NEWS ROUNDUP

BELGIAN CONGO TIMETABLE CLARIFIED

In an apparent effort to convince Congolese political parties that they have much to gain by abandoning their threatened boycott of the Congo's December elections to local councils, Minister for the Congo Auguste de Schrijver presented a new, and more precise, explanation of Belgium's intentions in a radio address to the Congo on October 16. These were the highlights:

- Three stages in the march toward independence are envisaged by the end of 1960 -- the election of local councils in December; followed by the immediate creation of provincial councils composed mostly of indirectly elected officials and enjoying "extensive powers" over education, public works, social and cultural questions, economic programs, and administrative organization in their areas; and the installation of a two-house Parliament and a central government, "possibly by August or September of next year."

- This first Parliament, which would consist of a lower house of perhaps 100 members and somewhat smaller senate, would be elected by a proportional representation system, either directly or indirectly.

- Both houses would be competent to pass bills, but not on foreign affairs or monetary matters.

- The first parliament might remain in office for, at most, four years to draft a constitution to be submitted to the population for approval. Belgium and the Congo, "each acting in full independence," would then be able to decide through their legislative and executive organs about their common institutions -- hopefully "some kind of Commonwealth."

- Belgium intends to grant special aid to the Congo next year amounting to about \$40,000,000, largely for development.

Asked later in a press conference whether Belgium would be prepared to give the Congo full independence in 1964 if, after the election, the new councillors demanded secession, Minister de Schryver replied: "We promise independence, but of course we do not think it should mean secession."

PLEBISCITE DELAYED IN SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

After more than two weeks of discussion, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations came up in mid-October with a unanimous compromise solution to the problem posed when the Prime Minister of the British Southern Cameroons, J.N. Foncha, and the leader of the Opposition, Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, turned up in New York to report that they were stalemated on arrangements for the plebiscite because of fundamental differences on the form and the questions. The two Cameroonian leaders jointly recommended postponement of the plebiscite, which was originally scheduled for the first



UN DEBATES SOUTHERN CAMEROONS -- Britain's Sir Andrew Cohen addresses Trusteeship Committee as Prime Minister Foncha looks on. Opposition leader Endeley is at left rear. UN Photo.

four months of 1960, until 1962. The final compromise -- an agreement that the referendum to decide the Southern Cameroons future should be held not later than March 1961 -- was largely forged by the eight African independent states' delegations, working as a cohesive unit behind the scenes. It was further agreed that voters will choose between joining independent Nigeria or independent French Cameroons, though there was some speculation that these two countries, once they are independent, may have some ideas of their own on terms of acceptance. Meanwhile, Southern Cameroons will continue as Trust Territory, and the U.K., as administering authority, is now faced with the task of separating the administration from Nigeria on October 1, 1960, when Nigeria achieves nationhood.

KENYA MOVES TO OPEN "WHITE HIGHLANDS"

The Kenya Government sent to the Legislative Council on October 13 an historic and highly controversial proposal to open the country's White Highlands to Asians and Africans of proved competence as farmers.

The government's plan calls for changing the machinery by which leases of land in the White Highlands have previously been approved. In the past, non-European applications for land in this area were considered by a European-dominated Highlands Board. Under the proposed system, the Governor would no longer be advised by the Highlands Board but by a new Central Board, on which one-third of the members would be Asian, one-third African, and one-third European. The most revolutionary part of the new proposals is that there will be a definite statement of policy that leases of land in the White Highlands are to be made according to the farming capacities

of would-be tenants, not their race. Local agricultural officers would report to the Governor on the previous farming records of would-be African and Asian tenants for the Highlands. The agricultural standards imposed would be strict, since the new policy is designed to improve the standard of African farming as well as to reduce racial discrimination.

GAMBIA GRANTED UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE

The British Government announced on September 24 that henceforth every adult in its West African dependency of Gambia will have the right to vote. The franchise, previously confined to the 250,000 persons living in the Colony area at the mouth of the Gambia River, now will affect the remaining 250,000 Gambians in the hinterland. Other changes announced include expansion of the Legislative Assembly from 20 to 34, to include 19 directly elected representatives from single-member constituencies. In addition, there will be eight seats for district authorities, elected by the chiefs, four ex-officio members, and not more than three nominated members. Elections under the new Constitution are promised for next year.

BASUTOLAND TO HAVE LIMITED SELF-RULE

A new constitution providing for limited self-rule and a universal franchise has been announced for Basutoland, the tiny, British-protected enclave in eastern South Africa. Plans are now underway for the first national election, in which all adult permanent residents of Basutoland, regardless of race, color, or creed, will vote on a single electoral roll for the 162 members of nine district councils. These councils will, in turn, sit as an electoral college to choose 40 of the 80 members of the country's first Parliament, to be called the Basutoland National Council. Nominated chiefs and officials will fill the other 40 seats. The National Council will hold its inaugural session in February, and will be empowered to legislate on all matters except external defense, internal security, and foreign affairs.

TWO TROUBLED AREAS EXPAND SECURITY FORCES

The governments of Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo, where unprecedented outbreaks of African unrest have occurred in the past year, took action this month to tighten security arrangements.

Three contingents of Belgian army and navy forces are scheduled to leave Brussels early in November to reinforce guards on the bases at Kamina, Kitona, and Banana. The most recent incident in the Congo was the outbreak of clashes between the Lulua and Baluba tribes in the Demba region in mid-October, when an estimated 30 persons, mostly Baluba, were killed. About 50 Lulua were arrested.

In Nyasaland, a \$2,000,000 program to improve internal security and communications has been announced by the government. More than a thousand new policemen of all ranks will be recruited, new stations opened, and all police posts linked by improved radio and telephone facilities. Government spokesmen have pointed out that the Devlin commission report stated that Nyasaland had fewer police in relations to population than either Northern Rhodesia or Southern Rhodesia.

UGANDA MOVES TO CHECK BOYCOTT

The Uganda Government asked the country's Legislative Council on October 15 to approve a bill providing for imprisonment up to six months for persons publicly encouraging the boycott of non-African goods. Over \$1,330,000 in revenues has been lost this year because of the politically-inspired boycott started six months ago by the banned Uganda National Movement, according to an official announcement. Organizers of the boycott campaign have urged, and reportedly forced, Africans not to drink beer or to buy from non-African shops to demonstrate dissatisfaction with the pace of the march toward independence. A total of 444 persons have been arrested in connection with the boycott since April, of whom 185 have been convicted, 42 released, 30 acquitted, and 187 are awaiting trial. Meanwhile, curfews have been reimposed in parts of western Buganda province, because of increasing violence and intimidation in recent weeks.

OPPOSITION UNITES AGAINST YOLOU

In the Congo Republic, a three-party opposition front has been organized against the government of Premier Fulbert Youlou. The new grouping includes the Socialist Party (headed by Jacques Opangault, whom Youlou imprisoned for several months following tribal disturbances in January); Felix Tchicaya's Congolese Progressist Party; and the Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa.

ALL-AFRICAN CONFERENCE SET FOR DECEMBER

The Steering Committee of the All-African Peoples' Conference concluded a two day secret session in Accra on October 10. According to the Ghana News Agency, the group agreed that the second plenary meeting should be held in Tunis in December and the next meeting of the Steering Committee in Conakry, Guinea in January 1960.

AFRICAN GROUP SEEKS ICFTU AFFILIATION

The African Confederation of Free Trade Unions, CASL-FO, meeting at Abidjan, Ivory Coast recently, decided to seek direct affiliation with the ICFTU. It will maintain friendly relations with the French trade union federation Force Ouvriere, but will no longer be directly affiliated and will drop the initials "FO" from its name. --H.K.

o im-
s has
han
l be
olice
one
nted
ted
ons
ia or

try's
ove
ix
he
0,000
se of
six
Move-
nt.
rged,
ink
dem-
the
4
with
been
187
ave
a
and

y op-
the
ne new
aded
ned
urb-
olese
the

frican
secret
ng to
that
d in
f the

rade
ry
ffili-

union
onger

-H.K.



TOP: Moscow crowds wave as Russian leaders Khrushchev and Vorishilov accompany Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to airport after Emperor's 14-day visit this year. BOTTOM: Selassie and top aides meet in Kremlin with Vorishilov, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Mouchatdinov, Gromyko, Patalichev and other Soviet officials.

Red Carpet Rolls Out for Africans

By HAROLD D. WEAVER, Jr.

A direct report on Moscow's current efforts to develop ties with the evolving states south of the Sahara.

MOSCOW this summer had all the air of a cosmopolitan and international city. Among the visitors were Africans and Asians in large numbers, especially before and after the controversial Youth Festival in Vienna.

At the railroad station, students, youth leaders, and young adults from

South Africa, Guinea, Algeria, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan were greeted with smiles, handshakes and bouquets of flowers—the usual treatment for foreign guests. The Soviet Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference footed the bill for their entire stay in Russia.

Among the attractions to which the

African visitors were introduced were the Exhibition of Economic Achievement, the spacious Parks of Culture and Rest, scenic Leningrad, the subtropical city of Tbilisi, the oriental showplace of Tashkent, a machine factory in Leningrad, a coke and gas factory in Moscow, the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism, a circus, a puppet show, a soccer game, and a ride on a Soviet jet.

These visits were part of a coordinated Soviet effort to establish contacts with Africa, both by bringing Africans to the U.S.S.R. and by sending Soviet citizens there. The program is not a new one, but within the past half year activities have increased greatly. This month, they culminated in a report from Liberia that Soviet Premier Khrushchev would attend President Tubman's inauguration in January, and then visit Guinea, Ghana, and Ethiopia. It is probably more than chance that the visit, as yet unconfirmed, would coincide in timing with the 2nd All-African People's Conference scheduled to take place in Tunisia.

Association Formed

Russia's mounting interest in Africa was reflected April 23 by the formation in Moscow of the "Soviet Association of Friendship with the African Peoples." According to a press release, the new group was set up to "hold functions, meetings, soirees, exhibitions, etc." all of which would be devoted to marking "national holidays of the peoples of Africa, to jubilees of prominent African figures in scientific and cultural spheres, to important events in the books of African writers in the U.S.S.R. as well as the publication of various books and pamphlets on the life of the African peoples." In addition, the release added, the group "will send to African countries different information on the life, culture and economy of the people of the Soviet Union."

Founding members included government officials, Soviet Africanists and the country's top *Othello* performer. The opening meeting was attended by Shirley Graham, wife of W. E. B. DuBois, who, along with his American compatriots Paul Robeson and Alpheus Hunton seems to be playing a leading role in the Soviet efforts to persuade the minds of Africans.

So far, activities of the Association have included an evening of African poetry, attended by 400 persons, including 40 Africans; a session with three Liberian movie makers, in Moscow for an International Film Festival, and special receptions for delegations arriving from the Vienna Youth Festival. The parent body of the Association is the Near and Middle East and Africa Department of the All-Union Society of Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries. Its chief, Victor Matveev, told me in an interview that the primary task of the

organization was to help organizations in African countries establish cultural contacts with the Soviet Union and to introduce Soviet life into every branch of the economy and life of the Africans. It was obvious that the group hopes to play a key role in developing Russia's "peace and friendship" theme with the African states.

Selassie Dined, Toasted

Of all the Russian moves to gain African friendship this year, none was more significant than the welcome accorded Emperor Haile Selassie. The Ethiopian leader said on arrival that "we want to appraise ourselves of the spring source of your genius and strength, to become acquainted with the advancement and progress you are demonstrating before so many millions of people throughout the world." He met formally with the leaders of the Kremlin, and was toasted and dined and shown the sights of Russia over a period of 14 days. Agreements on both cultural and economic relations were signed, including a low-interest, long-term loan of \$100 million to develop industry and agriculture, and a two year agreement, 1959-1961, for cultural cooperation.

In the course of his tour, the Emperor saw the pride of the Russian universities, Moscow State University, rising 30 floors and housing 24,000 students. The University awarded him an honorary Doctor of Jurisprudence degree. Later, he received the Soviet Order award and presented Voroshilov with Ethiopia's highest award. He spent an evening at Moscow's famed Bolshoi Theater watching the same group that just recently went to China and which thrilled American ballet-goers last spring. He visited the Mausoleum of the preserved bodies of Lenin and Stalin. He also visited the Ural mountains, Stalingrad, and Sochi, a subtropical city on the Black Sea.

At Leningrad, great attention was given to his visit to the Museum

of Anthropology and Ethnography, where drawings of Selassie with his father, pictures of 19th century Czarist and 20th century Soviet hospitals in Ethiopia, Ethiopian newspapers, and a modern Ethiopian bible were on display.

Vera Vologdina, Soviet linguist, in showing me the African section afterwards, told me: "We have the same religion as Ethiopia." It was announced later that the Ethiopian Coptic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church were reconsidering the possibility of a merger that had first been raised during Czarist days.

The Emperor's guide for the museum visit was Dr. Professor Oldenroge, the country's leading Africanist in the areas of linguistics and ancient culture, who did not hesitate to show him photos depicting the "exploitation of capitalist imperialism" in Russia's only public collection of African ethnography.

There was no doubt about Soviet efforts to make a memorably positive impression on Selassie, even on his last day in Moscow. Traveling, by coincidence, in a bus preceding Selassie to the airport, we passed hundreds of open trucks bringing thousands of peasants in from the outlying districts for the send-off. The mass of crowded buses and trucks was so great that we had to change our route to Moscow airport in order to be sure not to miss our plane. Foreign diplomats from countries with embassies in Moscow were on hand for the occasion, dressed in their formal morning attire.

Banners and a TU-104

The crowds at the airport and along the roadside were curious, but they were far from quiet. They waved, yelled, and smiled. Red banners stretched across the street in Amharic and Russian bade him farewell with "For Peace and Friendship among Nations" and "Long Live Friendship and Cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia."

The Author

A graduate of Haverford College, Harold D. Weaver, Jr., visited the Soviet Union this summer with the Experiment in International Living. He is shown here interviewing two Russian students. Mr. Weaver is currently doing graduate work in Soviet-African diplomatic and cultural relations at New York University. Photos accompanying this article furnished by the author.



At the airport, Khrushchev and Voroshilov referred to the "great and industrious people of Ethiopia" and to the "new era of economic, cultural and ideological exchanges" between Ethiopia and the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet leaders waved their hats and smiled as the Emperor boarded the sleek Soviet TU-104 jet. Escorted by a squadron of Soviet pursuit jets in perfection formation, the Lion of Judah departed for Prague, and later Yugoslavia, after a visit the full effects of which are yet to be seen.

Guineans Pay Visit

Less impressive, but as cordial, was the treatment accorded a Guinean delegation led by Saifoulaye Diallo, Parliamentary President and Political Secretary and member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party, and including Ishmael Toure, brother of the President and Minister of Public Works, and Jean F. Tounkara, Deputy to the Parliament, General Secretary of the Government, and Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party.

Arriving on August 14, the Guineans spent the first two days in meetings at the Kremlin with Soviet officials, headed by R. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier. Sightseeing in Moscow and visiting the impressive U.S.S.R. Exhibition of Economic Achievements took up the next day. Among the pavilions viewed were the Uzbek Republic's, the "Academy of Sciences," "Light Industry," "Engineering," and "Radio-Electronics and Communication." It was reported that the delegation paid particular attention to the open-air display of farming machinery, especially the small machines for work in orchards and vineyards, and the universal maize-harvesting combines.

Later, the Guineans flew from Moscow to Baku, capital of the Azerbaijan Republic, before proceeding to the southern coast of Crimea for a visit with vacationing Khrushchev. The next two stops, before returning home, were Kiev, in the Ukraine, and Leningrad. In a return visit to Moscow Diallo spoke over Moscow television.

Low-Interest Loan

The highlight of the visit was, of course, the U.S.S.R.'s granting of a \$35 million loan, signed by Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan and Guinean Parliamentary President Diallo. The money is scheduled to be used for building up industries. The twelve-year loan will be at an annual interest rate of 2½ per cent, a figure that only a few lending agencies in the West could match. There was speculation that the African State will use the money to buy the Soviet equipment at prices exceeding the real value.

A Moscow radio broadcast quoted Mikoyan's statement: "The U.S.S.R.,



African students are greeted with smiles and bouquets on arrival at Moscow railroad station after Vienna Youth Festival this summer.



Saifoulaye Diallo, leader of official Guinea delegation to Russia, shakes hands with First Deputy Premier Mikoyan following signing of \$35 million loan agreement in August.

in conducting its policy of peace and cooperation between the peoples, invariably sympathized with the African peoples' struggle against the shameful system of colonialism, and that the peoples of Africa had a true and dependable friend in it."

Mr. Diallo is reported to have replied: "In its relations with other countries our republic is guided by the principles of peace, positive neutralism, and the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation."

About the same time that the Diallo-led delegation was leaving Moscow for home, another group of Parliamentarians from his country were arriving in the Soviet Union. Their brief stay in Moscow was marked by a meeting with the Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and

a welcome by the Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Chairman of the Soviet Union at a reception in their honor. One of the Guineans, Mr. Camara Daouda, is reported in the Soviet Press to have been highly impressed with the "majestic achievements created by the labor of a free people . . . great progress in education . . . the cultural achievements . . . proof of the great attention given by leaders to the people." Upon departing, he said that when he returned home and told his Party leadership of the delegation's impression, Guinea would most likely invite a Soviet Parliamentary delegation to West Africa.

From the events of this summer, it seemed evident that if the African states ultimately refrain from looking East for their needs, it clearly will not be for lack of an invitation.

ECONOMIC NOTES

CONSORTIUM FOR VOLTA?

A green light for the plan to establish a consortium of aluminum companies for the development of the Volta River's projected aluminum industry was the reported result of the conversations held in Accra in late September between Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and Edgar Kaiser of Kaiser Industries. The Kaiser organization, which is already engaged in constructing preliminary works for the Volta project, is reported to have agreed to set up an aluminum plant at Tema and to have set the end of the year as the deadline for a "concrete proposal" for the establishment of a consortium. While many details remain to be worked out before the major aluminum corporations are willing to commit themselves fully to the scheme, Kaiser spokesmen are optimistic. Meanwhile, Ghanaian concern over certain marketing aspects of the operation appear to have been answered by the formation in the U.K. of a new Kaiser subsidiary, the Kaiser Aluminum Company, to handle marketing and distribution in Britain.

BANK OK'S IDA CONCEPT

The Board of Governors of the World Bank, meeting in Washington in October, approved in principle the U.S. proposal for a new billion-dollar International Development Association to be administered by the Bank to help finance projects in Africa, Asia, and Latin America which cannot qualify for loans under the conservative banking requirements of the parent organization.

Despite the approval of IDA in principle, many details remain to be worked out by the Bank's Executive Directors. No agreement has been reached, for example, on whether borrowers from the "soft loan" organization will be allowed to make repayment in non-convertible currencies or whether they would be required to repay in convertible currencies under liberal terms. The most serious problem, however, is that the proposed billion dollar capitalization, of which the U.S. would supply approximately the same one-third which is the American quota in the parent World Bank, is for a five-year period. UN experts say the amount falls far short of meeting the anticipated great demand for capital in the underdeveloped areas over the next decade.

JAPANESE TRADE CLIMBS

One of the least-publicized and most successful commercial drives in Africa in the past decade has been that of Japan, whose highly-competitive prices and industrious marketing are serving to reshape trading patterns in several eastern African countries. In Kenya, for example, Japa-

nese sales increased from \$2,800,000 equivalent in 1955 to over \$12,000,000 in 1958, and the Asian nation moved from sixth to second place as a source of Kenya's imports in this three-year period. Hardest hit by the Japanese competition is South Africa, although both European and U.S. sales are also suffering. Japanese trade is also increasing with Sudan, Somaliland, and Egypt.

U.S. GOODS LOSE GROUND

United States manufacturers of industrial goods are losing ground in South African markets because their prices are too high to be competitive, but American consumer goods remain highly competitive, according to a recent poll of South African importers undertaken by the New York journal *Purchasing Week*.

A large importer of machinery and machine tools reported that American prices for many items he buys are 30 to 40 percent higher than competitive British products, while continental sources undercut the British by an additional 20 to 25 percent. Trade opinion in Johannesburg points out that Americans are surrendering an increasing share in one of their own special fields of manufacture to British, continental, Japanese, and even South African producers. This is the automotive accessories market, where importers estimate U.S. firms have suffered a sales drop of around \$330,000 in recent months.

Buyers in the consumer field reported a divergent trend: most American prices are either on a par with continental levels or even slightly lower. American producers remain most competitive in textiles, particularly nylons, organdies, glazed cottons, and cotton prints. Other importers said certain U.S. fashion and luxury items find an excellent retail market because of their reputation, even when there is no attempt to compete price-wise.

MILESTONES

- Oil production in Gaboon and the Congo Republic increased by over 50 per cent in the past year, according to figures published in Brazzaville in September. In the first eight months of 1959, the two countries produced 492,300 tons of petroleum as compared with 295,000 tons in the same period last year. Production is expected to exceed 1,000,000 tons in 1960.

- Ghana now rates as the second largest diamond-producing country in the world, according to latest figures published in Accra. Production last year amounted to 3,350,000 carats, second only to the Belgian Congo.

- The Liberian tanker fleet, with over 386 vessels, is now the largest in the world and accounts for 18.4

per cent of the total world tanker tonnage. Capacity of the Liberian merchant marine, as reported by a recent Liberian Government study, is now nearly 10,900,000 gross tons.

- The trade agreement signed in September between Morocco and Guinea is the Conakry regime's first such agreement with a member country of the French monetary zone. Trade exchanges to the value of \$4,000,000 in each direction are envisaged.

- The Sudan's 1956-58 economic slump appears to have been checked by the stringent measures introduced by the government of General Ibrahim Abboud earlier this year. Foreign reserves, which had dwindled to \$22,000,000 by June 1958 and almost to zero by the end of the year had risen to over \$70,000,000 by June 1959. Strict import controls and removal of reserve prices on Sudanese cotton stocks were primarily responsible.

- The Shell-BP Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria has at long last found oil in appreciable quantities in the Western Region of Nigeria. The new well, at Ughelli in the Delta Province, is the sixth to be drilled in this region since operations began five years ago. It will, however, be necessary to find out whether further sources exist in this area before the economic value of the find can be evaluated.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

HEADQUARTERS: 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

Washington Office: 1234 Twentieth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

West Africa Office: P.O. Box 2192, Accra, Ghana.

Board of Trustees

President: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.

Chairman: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the American Metal Climax Inc.

Vice Chairman: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former United States Ambassador to Liberia.

Executive Vice President: Loyd V. Steers, former United States Minister-Consul General.

Treasurer: Landsdell K. Christie, President of the Liberia Mining Company.

Secretary: E. Ladd Thurston, Washington Attorney.

Other Members of the Board: Etta Moen Barnett, Lecture recitalist; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, President Honorarius, Lincoln University; Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India; Dr. Gray Cowan, Columbia University; Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; John W. Davis, Special Director, Teacher Information and Security, Legal Defense and Educational Fund (New York); William Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Staff

New York Office: Loyd V. Steers, Executive Vice President; Donald M. Wyatt, Staff Associate.

Washington Office: Gordon P. Hagberg, Director; Harry Heintzen, Staff Associate; Robert C. Keith, Chief, Editorial Staff; Bruce McGavren, Staff Associate.

West African Office: E. Jefferson Murphy, Director.

Theater Opening Lands Fox In Segregation Controversy

The barring of Africans and Asians from ceremonies opening the new Royal Cinema in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, landed 20th Century Fox Film Corporation in the middle of a Rhodesian segregation controversy in September.

The American firm holds controlling interest in African Consolidated Theatres of Johannesburg, which owns the Royal. The cinema opened under a "Europeans only" edict which the local management said was issued by the Johannesburg headquarters. This was in accordance with the practice followed by most theatres in Salisbury. Rhodesian Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky attended the opening ceremonies.

Four days later U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph C. Satterthwaite told a New York luncheon meeting of businessmen that "it seems very important to me that American businessmen interested in Africa should see the importance of conforming in their foreign operations to the image which we are trying to project abroad of the United States."

The Salisbury theatre held its grand opening with a Red Cross benefit showing of the film "South Pacific," which has a theme condemning race prejudice. Spyros P. Skouras, president of 20th Century Fox, sent a message saying "it is indeed appropriate that a world-wide organization such as the Red Cross, which knows no boundaries or race distinctions in fulfilling its great humanitarian endeavors, should be associated with the opening."

A tempest blew up in Salisbury when it turned out that Africans and Asians were not allowed to buy tickets. The Capricorn Africa Society attacked the ban as "a flagrant violation of the principle of partnership upon which the Central African Federation is based and on which its future depends."

At the same time, a multiracial group of Rhodesians formed a committee to fight the color bar in hotels and places of entertainment generally. The leader of the group, Gaston T. Thornicroft, a prominent member of the colored community, called for a boycott of the Royal. Meanwhile, former Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister Garfield Todd's new Central African Party protested to the Government about the theatre's exclusion of non-whites, and contended that the failure of the Government to take action would be interpreted as evidence that the professed policy of partnership was "nothing but a sham."

Stanlake Samkange, a vice-presi-

dent of the Party, told a meeting that the action of the theatre management was the most outrageous attack on the policy of partnership since the Federation was created. Prime Minister Welensky was attacked for having "allowed his name and person to be used for advertising the cinema in a manner contrary to the policy of his party and to the Federation."

According to persons acquainted with segregation practices in the Rhodesias, there are no federal or territorial laws which stand in the way of mixed theatre audiences. The Salisbury City Council does have regulations on the books which affect mixed gatherings, and under these it might be necessary to provide separate toilet facilities and obtain a specific permit for mixed audiences. Basically, however, the decision is up to the operator of the theatre. The Salisbury Repertory Society, an amateur theatre group, decided this month that its new theatre opening in January would be multi-racial.

The talk by Mr. Satterthwaite was made before the African Affairs Society of America, whose membership is a Who's Who of banks, shipping lines, mineral producers, exporters and traders having business interests in the African continent. The Assistant Secretary made no reference to the Royal Cinema affair, and his remarks reportedly were planned sometime before the incident took place. Other instances of discrimination involving U.S. firms have been brought to public attention in the Federation in recent months.

"It will be obvious to you," Mr. Satterthwaite told his audience, "that many Africans form their judgment of the United States by the way they are treated as employees and customers of firms bearing American names. Unfortunately we find a tendency on the part of a number of American firms to conform much too readily to less enlightened local business practices. If American firms are, in fact, in a position to insist that their branches and subsidiaries conform to certain standards affecting the quality of their products it would seem to me that they would be in a position to insist on the maintenance of standards with respect to employment and marketing practices, at the very least to the extent compatible with local law. Even from a purely commercial point of view this would seem to be good business practice since it is evident that the great areas for business expansion will, in the future, be found among the Africans themselves."

Study for ICA Puts Priority On Education

"Africa's greatest resource is manpower—now largely illiterate and untrained. . . . The rate at which it can be further developed and utilized will establish the tempo of progress."

This is one of the major conclusions of a survey just completed by the National Academy of Sciences for the International Cooperation Administration. Pointing to the "paucity" of educational facilities for the indigenous populations of Africa, the survey concluded that existing educational systems and institutions are "entirely inadequate to serve the present, still more the future, educational needs of the region."

The objective of the survey was to "identify those problems of basic importance to the future development of sub-Sahara Africa which can be attacked to some significant degree through the techniques of foreign aid." The survey, which could have an important bearing on the type of U.S. aid programs planned for Africa, calls for a strengthening of education at all levels and concludes that the future development of the continent will depend on this above all else. Agricultural development is considered second in order of priority, while raising the general of health is also listed as being of critical importance to achieving maximum utilization of human resources.

The 146-page survey deals specifically with the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia. Executive director of the survey was Dr. J. George Harrar, vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

* * * *

Boston to Train ICA Men

In the first instance where the U.S. Government has turned to a University for assistance in preparing a sizeable group of officials for work in Africa, the International Cooperation Agency has announced signature of a three-year contract with Boston University's African Research and Studies Program. Dr. William O. Brown, director of the Boston African Studies Program, will direct the ICA training program, which will include four separate seven-month courses in the three-year period. Each group of trainees will consist of some 20 senior ICA staff members who will spend two months on the campus of Boston University, followed by two months at centers of African studies in Great Britain, France, and Belgium, and two months of guided observation and field experience in Africa itself.

Tory Victory: African Implications

(Continued from page 2)

"We look forward to granting independence to the multi-racial states of Kenya and Tanganyika and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But before we can do this we must be sure of certain conditions . . . There must be leaders of all races able to share in the Government. Such leaders must have the consent of the majority of those whose education, property, and position qualify them to vote on a common roll. These qualifications must not be placed so high that Africans are excluded from power . . . In Rhodesia we are determined that the Federation be given a chance to continue after 1960; but these conditions must exist. We shall suggest that African affairs, police, and residual matters are left as the prerogative of the territorial Governments."

The crucial question which this Bow Group statement leaves unanswered, of course, is what happens when African education and economic development have evolved to a point where Africans constitute the overwhelming majority on the common roll? Is the Federation eventually to be a democratically governed state or will a control formula be attempted indefinitely?

Impact of Devlin

The Macmillan government's initial defensive rejection of the Devlin findings, superseded during the election campaign by preposterously off-hand treatment of this historic document, does not give a true index of the impact of Justice Devlin's findings in London. There is no doubt that the Colonial Office professionals were profoundly impressed by the study and its implications. And almost certainly, recent visitors to London report, the commission's study has had a far more unsettling effect on many Tories than anyone in authority was willing to admit in the ticklish months before the election. The fact that a man of Justice Patrick Devlin's stature and innately conservative leanings, backed up by a Commission which the *London Times* characterized as "just about the most independent type of Commission conceivable," should find so strong a case against British tactics, psychology, and policies in Nyasaland is not easily set aside by men of conscience. There is a good deal more honest confusion in the government about what Britain should do about Africa than there was before Devlin, and this could be the forerunner to some long-postponed fundamental decisions.

One little-noted development since the Devlin inquiry is that London is taking more seriously its primary

responsibility to the Federation's Africans, and there is perceptibly less "knuckling under" to Prime Minister Welensky. A most vital change, for example, has taken place in recent months in the official attitude toward the 1960 talks on the future of the Federation. Prior to the Nyasaland incidents of February and March, it was generally understood that the issue at the 1960 talks would be Dominion status for the Federation, and Sir Roy's optimism on this score appeared to have considerable justification. By July 22, a few days after the Devlin Report was in official hands, Prime Minister Macmillan was already quietly broadening the issue for the 1960 talks. In an entirely fresh approach, he made it clear that Britain stood fully by the preamble to the 1953 constitution and had no intention of transferring its responsibilities for the people of the two northern territories, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, to the Federal Government "either in the short run or the long run" as long as British protection was desired. Meanwhile, the two protectorates would move "as soon as possible and as rapidly as possible towards self-government." When the two territories could "stand on their own feet as components of the Federation," British protection would no longer be needed and the Federation could "go forward to full independent status within the Commonwealth."

This Macmillan statement was followed up, on July 27, with an even more specific pledge by Lord Home, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations. In a debate on the Devlin Report in the House of Lords, the Commonwealth Secretary said that British policy for Central Africa called for the progressive transfer of power "not to the Federal Government but to the Governments of the two northern territories, which will progressively become more and more representative of Africans until they have African majorities." Lord Home later modified his remarks to explain that he was in "full agreement with the present policy . . . which is to develop non-racial politics on party lines," but this "clarification" did not appear to alter substantially his earlier statement.

Northern Rhodesia Held Key

Prime Minister Welensky has also quietly shifted his position. In a radio address in London on July 17, the Federation leader said that "the feeling in Britain that I want to see the transfer of power to the Federation in 1960 . . . is not true . . . I am hoping that at the 1960 talks we shall see a program planning our further advancement toward the goal of complete independence."

The critical issue on which there appears not yet to be a meeting of minds between Welensky and London is the definition of "responsible government" for Northern Rhodesia. Many British officials agree with Julius Nyerere, principal African leader in Tanganyika, who observed some time ago that the key point on which Federation will stand or fall is Northern Rhodesia, where 2,190,000 Africans now play an imperceptible role in a government dominated by the territory's 74,000 Europeans. If the two northern territories, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, are allowed to develop responsible government reflecting the size of their African majorities, this argument runs, then—and only then—will the economic advantage of the federal concept be remotely acceptable to Africans of either territory. Although Prime Minister Welensky has apparently now come to the point of accepting the principle of an African-dominated government for Nyasaland, he, and other leading Federation spokesmen, are a long way from accepting any such principle for copper-rich Northern Rhodesia, where a democratic franchise would mean putting two of the three Federal territories, as well as the Federation's chief economic mainstay, under African control. In the view of some observers, failure to resolve present differences in the Federation satisfactorily could lead ultimately to a racial conflict which would jar all Africa.

Policy Emerges

In facing the problems ahead, the Macmillan government enters upon its new term of office with a policy in the Federation which is less fuzzy than it appeared to be in the policy statements issued in the course of the campaign. It is a policy with some very real gaps in it for the longer term, but it offers a meaningful context for day-to-day decisions. These are the highlights:

1. The constitutional review of 1960 will proceed from the assumption that it is now Britain's task to develop Nyasaland into an African state. But the clear hope is that the colonial power can have perhaps eight or ten more years to train Africans for responsible positions, cultivate some "moderate" politicians, and establish a sound educational system calculated to supply the territory with the necessary skills for self-government.

2. In order to do this, policymakers are convinced that Dr. Banda and his associates will have to be kept out of contact with the populace. There is no present intention to relax the emergency measures or release more than a minority of the 500 detainees now beginning the second six months of detention.

3. Secession will not be on the agenda of the 1960 constitutional review, and a strong effort will be made

there
ing of
ondon
gov-
lesia.
with
frican
erved
nt on
fall
0,000
otible
d by
s. If
yasa-
are
vern-
their
ment
l the
ederal
le to
ough
s ap-
nt of
frican-
yasa-
ration
from
cop-
where
mean
ter-
tion's
Afri-
ne ob-
at dif-
actor-
racial
rica.

d, the
upon
icity in
fuzzy
policy
es of
with
or the
aning-
isions.

f 1960
on that
velop
e. But
colonial
or ten
or re-
some
stablish
culated
h the
nment.

makers
and his
pt out
There
ax the
e more
tainees
months

on the
nal re-
e made

to convince Africans of the serious implications for their brothers in Southern Rhodesia if that dominion is pushed toward the apartheid world to the south.

4. While talk of secession will not be entertained, representatives of the various racial groups will be free to explore a wide range of interpretations of the federation, or, as it is now phrased, "the federal concept."

That retiring Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd was able to bring the European leaders of the Rhodesias as far as he has in their thinking about the future of the Federation has been almost entirely lost on the Africans of the territories involved. One reason for this, of course, is that the Macmillan government has moved with utmost discretion, in order to avoid getting the Europeans' backs up. The Federation's Africans remain bitterly distrustful of all olive branches. The new constitutional arrangements for Nyasaland, which give Africans seven as against six European seats on the unofficial side of the Legislative Council, have been received with contempt; Africans point out that this was all a slight of hand trick, since the official side was increased to retain the official majority, and note that the four new African members of the Legco were nominated by the Governor on the grounds that politics are not feasible in these troubled times.

Few Africans Trained

Even with the best of intentions, Mr. Macleod will have a most difficult time extricating British-African relations in the Federation from a vicious circle. If the Nyasaland Government were to release the political detainees as a gesture of good will to get Africanization moving more

American Universities Field Staff

Some Recent Reports on Africa

By Charles F. Gallagher
Moroccan Political and
Economic Problems

The Moroccan Code of
Personal Status

The Arab League in Casablanca

By Edwin S. Munger

The Tragedy of Nyasaland

Buying Books on Africa

Additions to a Bookshelf on Africa

Kikuyu Village Hall Democracy

The Future of Zanzibar

Tanganyika for All Tanganyikans

The 1959 Paradox in

Afrikaner Nationalism

AUFS reports are regularly available to educational institutions by annual subscription. Individual reports are available to non-subscribers at \$1 each.

American Universities Field Staff
366 Madison Ave. New York 17

U.S. Welcomes Sekou Toure

(See Cover)

President Sekou Toure of Guinea was accorded a warm official welcome on his arrival in Washington, D. C., October 26 to begin a ten-day state visit.

Streets of the nation's capital were lined with flags of the two states and a "Bienvenu" banner was stretched across 14th street as the official procession moved from the airport to the White House before a crowd estimated at 76,000.

The leader of Africa's newest state conferred with the President and other top U. S. officials and visited Washington landmarks before proceeding on his cross-country tour. His scheduled stops included Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina, for a look at the South; Chicago; Los Angeles; then Omal, West Virginia, plant site of the Olin-Mathieson Corporation which has extensive bauxite interests in Guinea; and finally New York City, where Mr. Toure planned to address the United Nations.

Mr. Toure told Washington's National Press Club that one of the objectives of his trip was to obtain an adaptation and orientation of U. S.

rapidly, for example, trouble might erupt again in the present atmosphere of distrust. Yet the fact remains that among these detainees are 32 of the country's 35 college graduates, and almost all of the present and potential leadership. How to get out of the circle and on with the job?

Labor's way out of the *cul de sac* was to begin immediately Nyasaland's transition to full autonomy, backing up the slim corps of qualified African officials with a staff of dedicated expatriate technicians for an indefinite period. Lennox-Boyd rejected this proposal by implication in a June 12 address, when he laid down as a condition for the transfer of power the existence of "enough skilled, experienced, and educated people to form an impartial civil service to run the complex machinery of modern government." By these standards, and given the past focus of Nyasaland education on achieving broad literacy rather than a highly-skilled elite, it would be 15 to 20 years before Nyasaland is ready for full internal autonomy. There are less than 30 Nyasaland students attending college anywhere this year.

A less imaginative man than Mr. Macleod is purported to be might be dismayed by the task before him in the Federation. But the situation is not hopeless: the pieces may yet exist for a constructive solution, but he will have to find the formula to put them together.

policy to obtain the rapid emancipation of the 'dark continent.'

"Africa has great moral and spiritual values and respect of man for man," the 37-year-old Chief of State said. "What she lacks are the techniques for development."

At a packed reception in Africa House, Mr. Toure told students that this is the "century of Africa," and they must have confidence in the future. "The new reality of Africa can be summarized in two words," he said: "liberty and unity."

Mr. Toure told reporters his conversations with President Eisenhower had deep meaning for the people of Africa as well as for the U. S. He said they discussed "a realistic and dynamic program for the evolution of Africa." (Full coverage next issue.)

Other Visitors Arrive

Three African leaders from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were among visitors to the U. S. this month. Two of them are heads of African Congress movements banned earlier this year. Joshua Nkomo, President of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, and Kanyama Chiume, Publicity Secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress, are here attempting to have Central African issues placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. They also are making a national lecture tour under the auspices of the American Committee on Africa. The third African, Godwin A. M. Lewanika, Member for Luangwa (Northern Rhodesia) in the Rhodesian Federal Assembly, and a member of the United Federal Party, is here on a 4-month U. S. Government leader grant programmed

(Continued on page 16)

MAILBAG

To the Editor:

... I have a few corrections to make in your profile ("Young Leader Sees Key Role for Women," September issue) ... (a) My job with the Northern Province Executive of TANU did not include drafting the memos for presentation to the UN Visiting Mission. I merely participated with the rest of the members in suggesting and raising points of importance in the drafting of the memos. (b) I did not participate in the private discussions between the TANU leader Mr. Julius Nyerere and the Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd, over Tanganyika's constitutional advance though I happened to be at the Colonial Office at the time. ...

Sincerely,

Lucy Lameck
Kalamazoo, Mich.

Political Danger Signs in Africa

(Continued from page 4)

Kenya? That is more difficult. The Europeans are more numerous and have a background of political, economic and social domination within the territory; the Africans are more divided racially than in Tanganyika. Tanganyika seems likely to get a revised franchise for next year's election which is far in advance of what Kenya's Europeans will concede to the Africans in that country, and also a wide measure of responsible government.

South African Contrast

The most striking contrast to Tanganyika's multi-racial political partnership lies in South Africa. At the last session of Parliament, the longest and most acrimonious in seven years, the Nationalists completed their pattern of *apartheid*. Most discussed of the *apartheid* legislation is the so-called Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, an extension of the 1951 Bantu Authority Act, which seeks avowedly to consolidate the 264 separated Bantu areas into 8 or 9 ethnic groups, commonly called Bantustans, under territorial authorities composed of chiefs and headmen with an African chairman and their own African Treasurer.

As to the future of the Bantustans, there is much uncertainty. The boundaries are not settled. Moreover while efforts will be made to consolidate the black areas, the familiar dilemma of their viability continues to bedevil the situation. Meanwhile, the concept of ultimately demarcated black areas with their own authorities has provided the justification to the Nationalists for eliminating the native representatives from the House of Assembly and Senate. Henceforth, as far as the Nationalists are concerned, the Africans in the urban areas and on European farms, amounting to over half the total African population of South Africa and numbering considerably more than the whites themselves, are not even to have token representation, or franchise.

Can South Africa be insulated from the effect of the triple slogans sweeping the rest of Africa: universal franchise, majority rule and community solidarity? Its African National Congress takes its stand on the first two of these objectives, but still continues to support multi-racial partnership with the Indian, Coloured and White Congresses and is extending more confidence to the Liberal Party as the latter becomes willing to participate in extra-parliamentary measures. The Pan-Africanists, who have worked uneasily within the ANC since the latter's Youth League was formed at Orlando Township and Fort Hare in 1944, have now split away to fol-

low their own program: that the salvation of Africans must be the work of Africans themselves; and that everyone should have the vote but with no special privileges for any racial group.

Denial of Expression

In South Africa, separation is the key-note; in Southern Rhodesia, high standards but admission to all who meet them is government policy. Economically they may balance because South Africa has a much more mature economy while Southern Rhodesia has a more open system. But Southern Rhodesia still follows the old Belgian Congo line that economic advance will quiet political aspirations and in Africa's present climate of opinion I doubt if this will long be true, even if it is at this moment.

Concerned though I am that Africans should feel, as I fear they do, that there is a magic in universal franchise which can transmute existing institutions into democratic ones, the denial of freely selected constitutional means to express opinion is far more dangerous. In the Natal demonstrations of August, wrath has already been turned against local chiefs as "stooges" of the government. The great danger of walling off Africans in separate educational institutions and separate Bantustans is that their frustrations work upon each other. The impact of disillusionment over unfulfilled expectations, when it comes, may turn first on the nearest symbol of white rule, whether it be a voluntary welfare center, a friendly white farmer or a municipal building or bus, but it can also spread.

Two Dangerous Poles

In Africa today there are two poles of approach, both dangerous. There is the pole of what we may call "unlimited democracy," the unrestricted freedom of choice of majorities at the polls and in legislatures which can so easily develop into domination by an organized group and a powerful leader. This danger besets new all-African states and also the Afrikaner-Nationalist-dominated state of South Africa. At the other extremity lie the restrictions in expressing a gradually evolving African nationalism which are common in the multi-racial states. These run the gamut from a restrictive semi-common roll in the Federation through communal rolls in Kenya to the virtual abolition of elec-

tions for Africans in South Africa even in their own reserve areas. In the new African states, feelings are all too quickly translated into edicts; in South Africa, they become bottled up to the point of explosion. Only in Tanganyika at the moment are constitutional provisions—in particular the tripartite franchise under which every elector had to vote for a candidate from each of the three racial groups—wise leadership, and great good sense combining to overbridge racial divisions which are creating tensions elsewhere, and to substitute interracial team work and common purposes for competition for power.

Appeal for Moderation

My analysis, based both on theoretical and practical grounds, suggests the middle way. It suggests that to create artificial separations, and to deny constitutional channels and sufficient representation to make opinions count, is to court grave danger. In the systems where these channels exist, it suggests not only constitutional checks and balances but as much encouragement as possible of different economic interests, currents of opinion, and pressure groups. It suggests that we make it clear both to ourselves and to others who believe they are adopting our type of democracy that its essence is balance, responsibility and limited government; that the franchise and elections provide legitimacy, a sense of participation and, hopefully, protection of the interests of groups, both minority and majority, from disregard by governmental majorities, but not democracy itself; that government is an immensely complicated activity in which decisiveness should always be counterbalanced by the wisdom which comes from both public and private consideration of alternatives; that the independence of the administration is crucial for its efficiency; that the judiciary should be given the maximum strength to play an independent role in the state through Bills of Right, and constitutional limitations; and that concern for human rights and opportunities, and for constitutional forms are the most significant indication of a democratic frame of mind.

No country, least of all our own, can afford to be complacent in the face of the intricate pressures of modern life. To study Africa is to confront in more elemental and immediate terms issues with which we ourselves should continually wrestle. Moreover it should keep us alive to the need of a constant reconsideration of our own basic assumptions and methods in political life. Most of our disciplines have developed within the milieu of Western ideas and experience. Africa, as an area greatly affected by such ideas and experience, and yet seeking its own distinctive ways of life, provides us not only with constant stimulation but also challenge.

KEEP UP WITH AFRICA

Timely news and features
come to you monthly in
AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT

New Diplomats Arrive

WILLIAM QUAO HALM TAKES OVER GHANA POST

Ghana's new Ambassador to the United States, William Quao Halm, took up his appointment in Washington in September, succeeding Daniel A. Chapman. Born in Accra, Ambassador Halm's early career was closely associated with his birthplace, first in the field of private business, later as a member of the Town Council, and Treasurer of the Accra Branch of the United Gold Coast Convention.



HALM

In 1950, Ambassador Halm joined the Convention Peoples Party. He was successively elected Chairman of the Party Finance Committee and appointed first President of the Accra Branch of the Party. He became Convention Peoples Party National Treasurer in 1955.

In addition, Ambassador Halm served as Chairman of the Ghana Industrial Corporation and its 24 subsidiary companies. His many other activities included the Ghana Scouts Council, the Accra Academy, the Ghana Red Cross Society, the Accra Juvenile Court and—for recreation—poultry farming and gardening.

MATHEW MBU HEADS NIGERIA OFFICE

Matthew T. Mbu, barrister, career diplomat and the first Nigerian to represent his country in the U. S., arrived Oct. 12 to head the Nigeria Office in Washington. The former acting head of post, Reginald Barrett, will remain as Mr. Mbu's principal secretary and adviser.

Formerly a Minister of Labour (1953-54) and, until recently, the Federation's Commissioner in the U. K., Mr. Mbu assumed his important post at a time when the Washington office is being transformed into a chancery in anticipation of Nigeria's Independence Day, Oct. 1, 1960. A New York office is also being established to deal with investment, trade and information, and to prepare for Nigeria's future representation at the U. N. The Nigeria Office in Washington presently operates in association with the British Embassy.

The 32-year-old representative of the largest country in Africa (the population of the three self-governing regions totals 40,000,000) was educated at St. Patrick's School, Ogoja, and in England. In London, he specialized in World Affairs at University College and read for the bar at Middle Temple.

Mr. Mbu is married to the former Katherine Anigbo, a graduate of the Institute of Education, University of London. They have two children.



MBU

FIRST SIERRA LEONE REPRESENTATIVE ARRIVES

Sierra Leone has sent its first representative to Washington. The Rev. Dr. William H. Fitzjohn, born in Mattu Jong, has established a Sierra Leone Liaison Office in the Dupont Circle Building, taking over the administration of Sierra Leone affairs from the Nigeria Office, which has handled them until now.



FITZJOHN

Dr. Fitzjohn brings to the post a solid knowledge of the U. S. A student here for many years, he took his B.A. at Lincoln University, Penna.; his M.A. and Ed. D. at Columbia University, New York, and his B.D. at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio.

Returning to Sierra Leone, he became Acting Principal of Albert Academy (his former high school), and later lectured in sociology and religion at Fourah Bay College, University of Durham. From 1950, up to his present appointment, he was associate Minister at King Memorial Evangelical United Brethren Church.

September 1959 ushered in another development when more than 30 Sierra Leone students, mostly from Ohio and Pennsylvania, met at Africa House in Washington to form "The Sierra Leone Students' Union of the Americas". The union aims to establish close cooperation with the representative; to help students coming to the U. S. in all practical ways; to arrange for members to meet distinguished Sierra Leoneans visiting America, and to publicize their country. The group's first president is Donald Smythe-Macauley, a pre-medical student at Howard University.

PUBLICATIONS

African Nationalism (by Ndabaningi Sithole, Oxford University Press: Cape Town, 1959, 13 s. 6 d.). A restrained, intelligent and witty explanation of the Nationalist concept in Africa penned by a Southern Rhodesian preacher and headmaster. Of the belief that Africans cannot understand democracy, Mr. Sithole remarks: "Those of us who lived in Africa know that the African people are democratic to the point of inaction". The naming of Mr. Sithole's three daughters, Sipikelelo, Sifiso, and Sikulekile—Perseverance, Wish and Freedom—and his two sons Dingindeela and Zibonele—Find The Way and Do It Yourself—are a keynote to his views. In an ironic tribute to Europe, Mr. Sithole disposes of the myth that nationalism and communism are allies: "If the present colonial powers had never occupied Africa, the present communism would easily make inroads into the very heart of Africa, since the African would not have had the experience of being under foreign rule."

Adventures With The Missing Link (by Raymond A. Dart with Dennis Craig, Harper & Bros.: New York, 1959, 255 pages, \$5.00). Prof. Dart of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, anatomist and discoverer of the "Taungs" skulls—the almost-men who hunted, fought and died in South Africa a million years ago—covers 25 years in this intellectual autobiography and case history of science. Illustrations show steps in reconstruction of ape-man's skull discovered by the author in 1925.

The Little Karoo (by Pauline Smith, The Vanguard Press: New York, 1959, 189 pages, \$3.50). "Her fellow writers would like Americans to become acquainted with Pauline Smith's firm but delicate art" is the fervent wish expressed by South African author Alan Paton in reviewing this book. "Though not herself an Afrikaner (the late) Pauline Smith's collection of Afrikaner stories is considered a classic in South African literature, for she writes of a land of harsh beauty and a tough and hardy people with a rare genius."

The Politics Of Inequality (by Gwendolen M. Carter, Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1959, 536 pages, \$7.50). Dr. Carter's study, now in its second printing, casts a steady and objective eye on the political, social and economic scene during the years 1948 to date in South Africa.

The Street Of The Laughing Camel (by Ben Lucien Burman, illustrated by Alice Caddy, McGraw Hill: New York, 1959, \$3.95). Satiric, fictional account of a Texas cowboy who opens a laundry in the Sahara, runs a ferris wheel in Algeria, and a general store in the heart of the African jungle.

U. S., Guinea Sign Joint Agreements

President Toure and President Eisenhower agreed that "Africa's requirements and hopes should command the serious attention of the rest of the world, particularly the great powers," according to a joint communique released Oct. 28.

The communique reported the signing of a cultural agreement between the two countries and an agreement for Guinea to receive a U.S. trade mission in the near future. The communique also announced a decision by the United States "to put at the disposition of the Government of Guinea 150 scholarships for the training of Guinean students in the United States or elsewhere." The communique said that the scholarship program would go into effect following signature of a Technical Assistance Agreement now under study.

The desirability of negotiating commercial and investment guarantee agreements was also under study, the communique added.

At the same time, "the facilities of the Export-Import Bank and the Development Loan Fund for specific development projects were called to the attention of the Government of Guinea," the communique said.

The cultural agreement called for the interchange between the U.S. and



President and Mrs. Toure with President and Mrs. Eisenhower at the White House.

Guinea of "prominent citizens, specialists, professors, teachers, students, and other youths, and qualified individuals from all walks of life." The agreement also made provision, when desired, for establishment of libraries and cultural centers by each Government in the territory of the other.

"Representatives of the two Governments exchanged views on the

growing importance of the African continent in the world of today," the joint communique said. "President Toure expressed the hopes of the peoples of Africa for self-determination, economic and social development," and "representatives of the United States indicated their understanding of these hopes and their desire to be of assistance wherever appropriate."

SEKOU TOURE HEADS VISITORS' LIST

(Continued from page 13)

by the American Council on Education.

Both Nkomo and Chiume were outside their countries last winter when emergencies were declared by the Governments. Since March they have been lobbying in England and throughout Africa for the release or trial of more than 1500 Federation Africans arrested for political activity; 500 still remain in prison.

Lewanika, who is studying government in the U. S., is a member by right of birth in the Barotse National Council; his father was King Lewanika of Barotseland. A founder member and first president of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, he has been active in trade union interests and is currently

President of the Northern Rhodesian Mines African Staff Association.

Ethiopia's Crown Prince Merid Azmatch Asfa Wossen Haile Selassie and the Crown Princess paid a 10-day private visit to New York, Washington and Boston in October, before leaving for Canada. The Crown Prince's busy schedule included a visit to the UN, an audience with President Eisenhower, a visit to Mt. Vernon, Arlington Cemetery and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, a luncheon in his honor at Blair House, given by the U. S. Secretary of State, and an evening reception at the Ethiopian Embassy held by the Ambassador.

An Ethiopian student from Cairo, Ibrahim Mahmud Boreh, in the U.S. on a 60-day State Dept. student grant, programmed by the African-American

Institute, is taking a "bird's eye" view during October and November.

Three delegates to the World Coffee Conference in Washington in October were the Hon. George Kahama, Minister of Cooperatives and Social Services, Tanganyika; Mr. B. K. Mulyanti, M.B.E. of Uganda, and Jeffrey Boss of the British Colonial Office.

Morea Veldsman, Librarian, Municipal Library, Cape Town, South Africa, will spend one year on a State Dept. specialist's grant programmed by the Library of Congress.

Other visitors included Dr. and Mrs. Hassan Nathoo of Nairobi. Dr. Nathoo, a former Nairobi City Councilman and now a member of the Board of Governors of the Kenya Interracial Secondary School, attended the International Dentist's Association Convention in New York.

INDIANA UNIV LIBRARY
ORDER NO 53231
BLOOMINGTON IND

frican
" the
sident
e peo-
nation,
" and
States
these
assist-

" view

Coffee
ctober
Min-
Serv-
lyanti,
loss of

Munic-
h Af-
State
inmed

d Mrs.
r. Na-
ouncil-
Board
rracial
Inter-
onven-